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ABSTRACT

This paper is a status report on efforts to make community service a part of the educational experience of high school students. It reviews the current educational debate, describes policies and practices including specific programs, summarizes research findings on the impact of service, and suggests some critical issues that confront educational researchers, policymakers, and practitioners. Some highlights of the report are as follows: (1) as of the mid-1980s, more than one-fourth of high schools offered community service programs for their students; (2) the most common means of service is through co-curricular school clubs and special school events such as holiday food drives; (3) some high schools, especially Catholic and private schools, require service to meet graduation requirements; (4) arguments in favor of service in the curriculum have appeared in the literature since the turn of the century; (5) some proponents of the practice emphasize the character-building potential of service, its power to promote basic democratic values and to develop patterns of responsible behavior; (6) others stress the potential of service to vitalize education by stressing that it requires the application of academic learning; (7) there is general agreement that a heightened sense of personal and social responsibility, more positive attitudes toward adults and toward those served, enhanced self-esteem, growth in moral and ego development, and more complex patterns of thought result from service programs; and (8) research and the testimony of participants both support the idea that school-based community service merits further trial. The document includes 45 references and an appendix listing publications and resource organizations for developing service programs. (KC)

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NATIONAL CENTER ON EFFECTIVE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

University of Wisconsin–Madison
Wisconsin Center for Education Research
1025 W. Johnson St.
Madison, WI 53706
(608) 263-7575

HIGH SCHOOL COMMUNITY SERVICE: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH AND PROGRAMS

Dan Conrad
University of Minnesota and Hopkins (MN) Public Schools
and
Diane Hedin
University of Minnesota

December 1989

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

HIGH SCHOOL COMMUNITY SERVICE: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH AND PROGRAMS

On any given day, in communities all across the United States, young people are leaving school--to clean up neighborhoods, visit nursing homes, educate children about drugs, serve at soup kitchens, register voters and, in a myriad other ways, provide service to their communities. For these young people, and the teachers who encourage them, school is not just a place where one comes to learn, but also a place which provides important resources to those in need. It is not a new idea, but one which is enjoying a resurgence of interest among educators, policymakers, and young people themselves. The purpose of this paper is to review current policies and practices concerning school-based community service, summarize research findings on the impact of service, and outline some critical issues confronting educational researchers, policymakers and practitioners.

Efforts to encourage youth community service take place on many levels and have taken many forms. On the national policy level, the primary emphasis has been (thus far without success) to create a national service corps which would encourage or compel community service by post-secondary youth. Youth service corps of this nature are already operating in fifteen states and in a number of metropolitan areas such as New York and San Francisco. In the past five years, several state governments and state boards of education have enacted policies to encourage participation by school-aged youth as well. Two states, Maryland and Minnesota, even require schools to offer formal opportunities for students to become involved in community service.

Quite independent of any external prodding, a large number of schools, of all kinds and in all parts of the country, have programs which engage students inn providing service. The most current data available is from the mid-1980s, at which time about 27% of all high schools (or 5,400 of them) offered community service programs. All types of high schools offer them, with non-public schools more likely to do so than public ones. Based on 1984 estimates, about 6.6% of high school students (or about 900,000) are involved in school-based community service programs--and it appears that this rate of participation has held reasonably constant over the past ten or oven twenty years.

Teachers and administrators have devised a rich variety of ways to involve their students in service activities. The most common means is through co-curricular school clubs and through special school events like holiday food drives. Some high schools offer elective credit for service activities and some, most commonly Catholic and independent schools, include service among their graduation requirements. In some schools, service is performed as an extension or lab component or a regular class; in yet others service, with a supporting seminar, is the central activity of an academic course. More rarely, service has been integrated into the total school's, or even district's curriculum.

Arguments for including community service in the curriculum have appeared in educational reform literature since at least the turn of the century. Some advocates of the

practice emphasize the character-building potential of service, its power to promote basic democratic values and to develop patterns of responsible behavior. Others stress the potential of service to vitalize education by stressing that it encourages--even forces--academic learning to be tested and applied in the crucible of real experience. Despite differing points of emphasis, there is general agreement that well-designed programs can have a positive effect on the social, psychological and intellectual development of participants in ways detailed in this review.

The degree to which the hypothesized effects of service are realized in practice has been examined through both quantitative and qualitative research studies of varying degrees of precision and sophistication. The most consistent findings from quantitative studies are a heightened sense of personal and social responsibility, more positive attitudes toward adults and toward those served, enhanced self-esteem, growth in moral and ego development, more complex patterns of thought, and greater theoretical sophistication than has heretofore been the case.

The idea that schools should promote the involvement of youth in service to the community has a rich tradition in American education and figures prominently in present discussions of the purpose and practice of schools.. How it will fare amidst competing pressures for other educational "goods," and what the consequences would be of its becoming a common feature of school practice remain to be seen. However, that school-based community service merits further trial and testimony is strongly supported by both research evidence and by the testimony of participants.

HIGH SCHOOL COMMUNITY SERVICE: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH AND PROGRAMS

INTRODUCTION

On a day in June 1989, President George Bush appeared before a group of prominent New York business leaders to talk about volunteer service. The event marked the kick-off of the President's "Thousand Points of Light" initiative aimed at translating a campaign slogan into a new wave of volunteer service by citizens of all ages and all walks of life. Included in the President's remarks were a call for more community service by youth and encouragement for schools to include opportunities for service in their educational programs.

The event was widely covered by the press, but little about community service was mentioned in their reports. As luck would have it, the forum was held the day after the Supreme Court's ruling that burning the American flag is a form of symbolic expression protected by the First Amendment. President Bush departed briefly from his prepared text to comment on this and these remarks became the story of the day. The call for community service was relegated to backdrop for the more newsworthy story.

Only time will tell whether the original purpose of the event, or its digression, will be the more significant story. But what happened that day provides a framework for considering the fate of community service in the schools. On the one hand there are signs of heightened interest in youth community service by politicians, educators, and ordinary citizens -- youth included. On the other hand, there are pressures which threaten to overshadow this interest and keep it on the fringes of the political and educational agenda.

This paper is a status report on efforts to make community service a part of the educational experience of high school students. It will review the current educational debate, describe policies and practices, summarize research findings on the impact of service, and suggest some critical issues that confront educational researchers, policymakers and practitioners.

THE CURRENT DEBATE: LEGISLATION, POLICY, AND ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORT

President Bush's call for youth service did not originate in a vacuum, but amidst a flurry of attention paid to volunteerism in the late 1980s. The legislative docket of the 101st Congress contained 20 proposals for some form of national service; 200 college presidents had joined the Campus Compact to urge increased service by students; 20 Governors reported having executive initiatives for youth community service programs; and recommendations for school-based service were featured in numerous educational reform proposals. These indicators, and more, leave little doubt that youth service is, and will continue to be, an important topic among those who will shape the educational and youth policy agenda for the 1990s. This section will review the policy debate, legislative activity, and the efforts of organizations working to promote youth service, on both the national and state levels. The focus of this paper is on service programs in high schools, but other youth service initiatives will be considered as well since their presence intensifies and broadens the interest in service as a school practice.

Federal Initiatives

Efforts to encourage or compel youth to participate in community service have been on the national legislative agenda since the late 1960s. The main interest in Congress has been to involve youth beyond high school age in some form of national service. The driving impetus in the late 1960s and early 1970s was the Vietnam war and the desire to find alternatives to military service which built on the idealism of youth who were already involved -- with the war, civil rights, and environmental movements, as well as with local voluntary efforts. There were models of successful non-compulsory programs to build on -- the Peace Corps and Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) chief among them. There were examples of compulsory programs in other countries such as Israel. There was a history of advocacy for national service going back to William James' ringing call for youth service as "The Moral Equivalent of War" (James, 1910).

A raft of national service legislation was introduced in the early 1970s and debated heatedly in Congress and in public forums all over the country. But with the ending of the Vietnam war and the abolishment of the draft went the driving force that fueled the interest. Legislation continued to be offered, but without the fervor or expectation of success that had previously existed.

The interest in youth service carried over to initiatives for high school youth as well. The National Student Volunteer Program (NSVP) was organized as a subdivision of VISTA to encourage school-based service programs via conferences, workshops, a quarterly journal and a small grants program. The Department of Labor enlisted huge numbers of youth in service activities through an array of employment and job training programs. These federal programs continued throughout the 1970s but diminished or disappeared altogether in the early years of the Reagan-Bush administration.

In the late 1980s, legislative efforts to establish a national service program and to encourage school-based service programs were renewed. In 1989 alone, more than 20 legislative measures designed to encourage youth community service were submitted to Congress. Each of these represented some variation of the idea that service to one's country, civilian or military, is both a privilege and an obligation of democratic citizenship, and that opportunities for civilian service should be increased. The basic model, which has been around for a very long time, would establish a national service corps in which youth who are past high school age would provide one or two years of service, at subsistence wages, to communities throughout the country. At the end of this period they would receive vouchers (recently set at $10,000 to $12,000 per year) to be applied to some form of higher education. Many variations to this plan exist. One would make civilian or military service a prerequisite for federal educational aid, another would require that participants be high school graduates, another organizes national service as a civilian counterpart of the National Guard with service performed weekends and summers, another would establish a "Peace Corps ROTC" in colleges, another focuses on conservation and environmental projects and opens participation to teenagers during the summers, and so on. Except for the latter, none of these bills provide for service by high school-age youth. Their existence, nonetheless, thrusts service into the national limelight and intensifies all discussions about youth service.

Two other initiatives have more direct implications for high school service programs. One of these, championed by Senator Ted Kennedy (D., MA), would combine elements from the above proposals into a network of state and federal service programs for post-secondary youth, increase opportunities for adult and senior citizen volunteering, and also place major emphasis on stimulating and providing financial support to school-based service programs from kindergarten through high school.

The other is President Bush's Thousand Points of Light Initiative which is not so much a proposal for new policy as it is a general exhortation to Americans to renew their commitment to volunteer service. While the aim is to increase community service by all people, the opening emphasis has been on youth who President Bush has challenged to become the standard bearers of the service movement. The cornerstone of the latter emphasis is the Youth Engaged in Service (YES) to America program which will honor and publicize outstanding youth service efforts, promote forums on service and, in other symbolic ways, encourage the practice.

State Programs and Policies

If efforts to stimulate youth service are a prominent topic in Washington, they have already turned into concrete programs and policies in several state capitols. Many of these, like national service legislation, are aimed primarily at young adults beyond high school age. According to the National Governors' Association (1989), fifteen states and a number of cities and counties have full-time youth service corps in operation. Most of the state

programs, such as the Youth Conservation Corps in California, Ohio, and Wisconsin, are based on the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) model that put people to work, mostly on environmental projects, during the Depression. With some adaptations to the 1980s, these programs follow the basic CCC approach of putting youth to work in parks and forests for modest stipends and with accompanying training and education. City-based service corps, such as those in San Francisco and New York, have adapted the model to address urban needs and, in some cases, employ younger adolescents.

School-based youth service has also received the attention of state policymakers. According to a 1986 survey conducted by the Council of Chief State School Officers and the National Association of State Boards of Education, 10 states had developed policies or guidelines on school-based community service programs and another seven were developing such plans at that time.

The most comprehensive plan is Minnesota's, where a combination of state policy and financial incentives both orders and encourages schools to develop community service programs. A 1989 State Board of Education rule (having the force of law) requires that all schools on all levels, K-12, must provide opportunities for students to participate in youth service activities and must integrate service-learning into the curriculum. On the high school level the district must also acknowledge student participation in service through awarding credit. Financial assistance is available through a plan which allows districts to levy fifty cents per capita to implement general youth development programs which, if service is a part of the plan, gains an additional twenty-five cents per capita in state money for the district. There is also state funding in Minnesota for colleges to hire service coordinators.

The Minnesota model was inspired by a Maryland Board of Education bylaw which stipulates that each county school system offer opportunities for students to receive elective credit for service activities. The Maryland policy recommends, but does not require, that service learning be integrated into the general curriculum. The State has not offered financial assistance earmarked for service programs, but has created and staffed the Maryland Student Service Alliance to guide and encourage the establishment of service programs.

Other states have taken different approaches to encourage school-based service programs. Pennsylvania has created a state agency known as PennSERVE to encourage and coordinate both K-12 and post-high school youth service efforts. Small seed grants from public and private sources, a statewide tabloid on youth service, workshops, and recognition for exemplary programs and outstanding individuals are available. In Vermont, there is strong state endorsement for school-based service but no requiring rules or financial support. In fact, neither is sought by SerVermont, a non-governmental organization (more a one-person crusade) which exists to infuse service experiences into all phases and levels of education. Building on a strong tradition of school-based service, SerVermont offers technical assistance, a communications network, recognition, small grants, and vigorous

exhortations. Connecticut has offered state funds to K-12 and postsecondary schools to develop and pilot-test community service programs but has no requirement that students do so or any special agency to work with schools. In New York, a new Board of Regents mandate calls for a practicum in school, community or governmental service in the 12th-grade curriculum.

It is neither possible nor profitable to detail all state policies since new plans emerge and old ones are being revised continually. It must be noted, however, that all these state initiatives are very new. None existed before 1985, and many are still in the planning stage. This surge of interest, combined with national initiatives, suggests that political and educational policymakers will continue to have an interest in service in the very near future.

Service as a Theme in Educational Literature

It's difficult to explain why or how an educational idea moves into the consciousness of educators and onto the agendas of policymakers. It is usually possible, however, to track its path through the educational literature. Recommendations that service be a part of the school experience have appeared and reappeared in neat cycles throughout this century and have been a consistent, if less than dominant, feature of educational reports and reform proposals for the last 15 or 20 years.

Proponents of service who stress its power as a way to learn and teach typically trace their ideas to the educational philosophy of John Dewey. It is not so much that he directly advocated service as an educational method, as that his ideas on how learning takes place (e.g., Experience and Education, 1938) and for what purpose (e.g., Democracy and Education, 1916) provide a rich theoretical grounding for the power of learning and development through actions directed toward the welfare of others. Probably the earliest proponent of school-based community service was William Kilpatrick (1918) who, in the waning years of the First World War, urged the adoption of the "Project Method" as the central tool of education. He argued that learning should take place in real settings outside the school involving efforts to meet real community needs. Throughout the 1930s, the idea was echoed by Progressives who believed that schools should inculcate the values of social reform and teach the attitudes, knowledge, and skills necessary to accomplish it. Book titles such as Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order (Counts, 1932) and Paul Hanna's Youth Serves the Community (1937) exemplify the passion of that time for education for social transformation. Curiously, it was in the more cautious and passive fifties that the idea reemerged, most prominently in The Citizenship Education Project out of Columbia Teachers College. Launched with great fanfare and prestigious endorsement (President Eisenhower was the Honorary Chair), the Project stressed participation skills and direct community experience. Its famous "Brown Box" of teaching ideas contained (still does if you can find one) hundreds of detailed guides to social investigation and social-political action. Suffice it to say, its timing could hardly have been worse and by the time

community activism became the thing to do (in the sixties) the project was but a dim and dusty memory.

The next wave of emphasis on school-based community service occurred in the 1970s as described in the review of federal initiatives. The movement was fueled by several major reports that bemoaned the passivity of life in schools and the separation of youth from the life of the community. Reports by the National Committee on Secondary Education (National Association of Secondary School Principals, 1972), the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee (Coleman, 1974), and the National Panel on High School and Adolescent Education (Martin, 1976) were among those which urged that youth be reintegrated into the community, encouraged to interact with a wider range of people, be involved in more real and meaningful tasks, and afforded more responsibility through a variety of direct experiences which included, but were not limited to, service activities. The National Commission on Resources for Youth (NCRY) worked throughout the 1970s on many fronts to promote youth participation programs such as were described in their book New Roles for Youth (NCRY, 1974). Fred Newmann (1975), in Education for Citizen Action, outlined what remains today the most comprehensive and sophisticated curriculum proposal for using community service as a stimulus for developing in students the attitudes, skills, and knowledge required for effectively influencing social policy.

The value of service experiences for youth has reappeared in more recent educational literature. In Sometimes a Shining Moment, Eliot Wigginton (1985) describes his work with the Foxfire project in a way that offers inspiration, theoretical grounding, and practical assistance to teachers working with youth service programs. John Goodlad (1984), in A Place Called School, includes community service among suggested practices to improve education. The same is true of the Education Commission of the States' 1985 report: Reconnecting Youth, and a series of reports sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation including Ernest Boyer's High School (1983), in which he recommends that high schools require 120 hours of community service for graduation. The latter idea was further developed in a 1987 Carnegie Special Report by Charles Harrison titled Student Service: The New Carnegie Unit (1987), and through another Carnegie Report, Turning Points (1989), which focuses on the educational needs of junior high and middle school youth. A report of the William T. Grant Foundation, The Forgotten Half (1988) makes a strong plea for community service by non-college-bound youth, arguing for the "creation of quality student service opportunities as central to the fundamental educational program of every public school" (p. 90).

Organizational Support

There are a number of support organizations that operate on varying levels to help educators act on these recommendations. Some are organizations committed to experiential education in general, of which service is one important manifestation. Prime among these are the Association for Experiential Education (AEE) and the National Society for Internships and Experiential Education (NSIEE) which have been operating for about 20

years. Other organizations have promoted youth service through guidebooks on youth service for educators and other youth workers. These include the Independent Sector, a coalition of organizations representing the non-profit, non-governmental segment of society, and the National Crime Prevention Bureau. Several mainline professional organizations such as the National Association of Secondary Principals (NASSP), the National Association of Independent Schools, and the National Catholic Education Association have regularly supported student service through publications, conferences and recommendations to members. In recent years the Council of Chief State School Officers and the Education Commission of the States have both emphasized youth service in their work with schools. On the postsecondary level, the Campus Compact and the Campus Outreach Opportunity League (COOL) are working to increase volunteer service by college students. The Constitutional Rights Foundation includes among its efforts the publication of a national newsletter on school-based service titled Network. Youth Service America (YSA) operates as a kind of umbrella organization to promote a wide range of youth service efforts (particularly state and national service corps) in ways described in their newsletter Streams. In addition there are a number of organizations which combine efforts on a broader level with a particular focus on one region such as the National Youth Leadership Council in the Midwest, the Jefferson Forum in Massachusetts and, with East Coast private schools, the Community Service Network of New England. The point is not to describe all groups here (a list of organizations and their addresses is contained in the reference section) but to make the point that interest in youth service goes beyond policy recommendations and prestigious endorsement to concerted and concrete efforts by public and private groups to help educators translate these ideas into practice.

This brings us to the issue of the degree to which the policies, recommendations, and organizational efforts are resulting in actual programs for students--the topic of the next section.

THE PRACTICE OF YOUTH SERVICE: PREVALENCE AND MODELS

Prevalence of Service Programs in Schools

It is not possible to know with absolute confidence just how many students currently are involved in school-based service activities. Youth service has always been and will likely remain a grass roots phenomenon, with programs rising and disappearing with the presence of particular teachers, administrators and students who believe that young people can and should be involved. There is no umbrella professional organization to which these players must report; and their activities have not been of routine interest to compilers of educational statistics.

We are not completely in the dark, however. In the mid-1980s, three small-scale surveys were conducted that shed light on the practice. In 1984, 505 schools selected from the High School and Beyond sample of 1,032 schools were polled (Newmann & Rutter,

1986; Rutter & Newmann, 1989). In 1985, the Carnegie Center for the Advancement of Teaching polled some 5,500 schools, receiving responses from about 20% of them (Harrison, 1987). About the same time, Lee Levison (1986) conducted a survey of private schools for the National Association of Independent Schools that provides useful data for that particular subgroup of schools. It should be noted that these surveys were taken prior to the legislative initiatives (and many of the policy recommendations) reported above. As such, they not only provide insight into current practice but establish baseline data for assessing the impact of current initiatives.

The most useful data is reported by Newmann and Rutter (1986) because their survey included all types of high schools, and their data were gathered and analyzed in a manner that allows projection to the high school population at large. Data from other studies will be reported as they complement or contrast these data.

Newmann and Rutter (1986) estimated that approximately 27% of all high schools offered some form of community service program in the Fall of 1984. This figure translates into programs involving about 900,000 students in approximately 5,400 high schools. Harrison reported that 70% of the schools responding to his survey had some form of service program, but it's highly probable that many of the 80% of schools which did not return his survey had no service program to report.

The likelihood of having a program varies considerably by type, location and size of school. In general, non-public schools are more likely than public ones to offer service programs. Suburban and large schools offer programs more often than do urban, rural or small schools. Like all generalizations, these facts mask some important distinctions. Alternative public schools and Catholic schools are more likely to offer community service than are regular public or non-Catholic private schools. These schools are also more likely to give academic credit for community service, offer it as an elective course and, in Catholic schools, require it for graduation.

Newmann and Rutter (1986) estimated that 6.6% of all high school students were involved in high school community service programs in 1984, and that those involved in programs tied to the curriculum represent at most 2.3% of the total enrollment. They note, in contrast, that in 1982 52% of high school seniors were involved in team sports and 34% were involved in performing arts programs.

In the schools where service programs do exist, they do not typically involve a large percentage of students or a great deal of time. Newmann and Rutter (1986) found that two-thirds of the programs involved 50 students or less. Harrison (1987) reported that among voluntary programs, most (61%) involved less than 10% of their school's student body. In terms of time, Newmann and Rutter (1986) found the average across all programs to be four hours per week with students in elective programs averaging six hours, and those in graduation requirement programs giving only one hour of community service per week. Over half the programs involved two hours of time per week or less. Harrison (1987)

asked the question differently but got similar results. Students in about 40% of the programs served less than 50 hours during their high school career. About 90% put in less than 200 hours--or about half the time required by one season of high school football.

In terms of who participates, Newmann and Rutter (1986) estimated that 82% were white, 16% black, and 13% Hispanic -- although 53% of the programs had no Hispanics and 36% had no blacks. At the same time, schools where nonwhites constituted a majority were more likely to offer programs than white-majority schools and three times as likely to offer community service as an elective course and award academic credit.

Who participates in service is closely related to the type of program offered. Quite obviously, required programs draw from all segments of a schools' population. Less predictably, schools with elective courses (for credit) enrolled students in nearly equal proportions from each of three academic tracks. When community service was a voluntary club activity, however, 57% of the students came from the college preparatory track.

Where students perform their service varies, but much of it is performed in school settings rather than in the general community. Newmann and Rutter (1986) found that 34% of all service placements were in schools, though most programs offered students a variety of places in which to volunteer. Harrison (1987) found that in most programs (65%), the most common service site was within the school itself.

Changes since the 1970s. In order to determine whether school-based service programs were increasing or decreasing, Newmann and Rutter (1986) compared their data with that from a 1979 survey conducted by the National Center for Service Learning. The National Center for Service Learning study surveyed high school programs where service was integrated into the existing curriculum--a program category similar to Newmann and Rutter's category of programs in which academic credit was offered. Comparing these, Newmann and Rutter (1986) concluded that there had been a decline in the percent of all schools offering curriculum related programs, and a decline in the size of the programs that are offered. Overall student enrollment in curriculum-related programs declined from an estimated 336,000 in 1979 to a figure that ranges from 252,000 to 321,000 students in 1984--a decline not far, however, from the overall percentage drop in secondary enrollment over this period.

Other data suggest there may be more high school service programs now than in the early seventies, however. A 1973 poll by the National Association of Secondary School Principals (1974) turned up just over one thousand "Action-Learning" programs in member schools. Taking into consideration that the poll was not of all high schools, and that not all the "Action-Learning" programs involved service, it would still be hard to imagine the 1973 figure (of 1,000) representing even half the number of schools (5,400) that Newmann and Rutter (1986) estimated had service programs in 1984.

Whatever the actual numbers may be, the surest conclusion that can be drawn is that school-based community service is an educational concept that has endured throughout this century but has not become an integral part of the high school experience of more than a minority of students. The way in which service has been organized is the subject of the next section.

MODELS FOR SCHOOL-BASED PROGRAMS

Teachers and administrators have been very creative in finding ways to make service a part of their school programs. This section outlines the ways they have done so, illustrating them by examples from particular schools. One way of distinguishing among the forms of service programs is to see how closely they are integrated into the regular schedule and curriculum of the school. The continuum below represents a movement from least integrated into the curriculum on the left to most integrated on the right. Distinctions between programs are based on this difference, not on their merit.

Special Events & Co-curricular Activities	Service Credit or Requirement	Lab for Existing Courses	Community Service Class	School-wide or K-12 Focus
1	2	3	4	5
Less a part of regular school curriculum				More a part of regular school curriculum

1. Special Events and Co-curricular Activities. Most high schools, perhaps the majority, stage some sort of service-related event during the school year: a special dance where students bring cans of food, a neighborhood clean-up, a "Toys-for-Tots" collection at Christmas, and the like. Usually these are conducted under the auspices of the student council or some student club and so are included in this category.

The primary focus of this category is on school clubs or co-curricular organizations that sponsor and promote service as a regular feature of their activities. Newmann and Rutter (1986) found this to be the most common type of service program offered, with about 51% of the high schools which do offer service programs doing so via voluntary clubs. This is nearly twice as frequent as any other kind of service program. Enrollment in student service organizations ranges from a handful in some schools to the entire student body in others, but typically involves about 40 students in a school. Students average about an hour per week in their service activities for which they receive no academic credit.

The nature of these clubs varies greatly. Some school clubs have service as their central activity while others, such as the National Honor Society, include service as one obligation of membership. The clubs may be indigenous to the school or branches of a national service organization such as the Key Clubs which are affiliated with the Kiwanis organization. Schools typically provide a faculty advisor -- sometimes paid and sometimes volunteer -- to guide the students.

This may be the purest form of service since the activities are strictly voluntary, students usually receive neither academic credit nor time off from school, and they bear significant responsibility for the existence and direction of the program. But the lack of tangible incentives beyond the intrinsic value of serving may also lead to only those participants who already possess a service ethic while others who could give and gain a great deal are excluded. Newmann and Rutter (1986) suggested as much in reporting that 57% of the students in voluntary clubs were in the college preparatory track compared to 12% in the vocational and 27% in the "general" track in their schools.

Two approaches to the club concept are illustrated by programs in suburban Baltimore and Los Angeles.

Student Activities Club
Fallston High School, Harford County, Maryland

The Student Activities Club was formed in 1982, with 20 members, to enlist student participation in projects to improve the school and community. Six years later it could boast of over 300 members, and a reputation as the club to join. The Club is strikingly a student organization with leadership in the hands of four student officers, 22 committee chairpersons, and a volunteer faculty advisor. Each sphere of service has its own committee. Most serve the school itself in ways that range from clean-up and bleacher repair to new student orientation. Others organize nursing home visits, serve at a soup kitchen, and sponsor wheelchair basketball games. When a new need arises, a new committee is formed. Student service is performed primarily during non-school hours and is vehemently voluntary: no credit, no awards, no school letters, no certificates of appreciation, no money from the school's budget.

Youth Community Service
Los Angeles Unified School District

Quite a different approach to club and project activities is represented by Youth Community Service (YCS), a project of the Constitutional Rights Foundation in cooperation with the Los Angeles Unified School District. Since 1984, YCS has provided training, materials, and on-going support to student service groups (grades 9-12) in what is now 22 Los Angeles area schools. The program is classified here as a club activity since participation is voluntary, may be entered into at any time, credit is not awarded, and most of the activity takes place after school hours. Yet the school programs have many of the

best features of an academic class as well: teacher-sponsors attend a two-day training session plus monthly meetings; and an overnight leadership retreat is available to students, who also meet twice weekly in their schools to develop personal skills, assess community needs, and to plan and implement service projects. These projects include visits to nursing homes, clothing drives, assisting the LA Marathon, organizing blood drives, anti-graffiti paint-outs, voter registration campaigns, and much more. Conferences during the year provide chances for students to get together and share ideas, learn additional skills, receive guidance on project implementation, and celebrate. A direction for the future is for YCS programs to be adapted as a credit offering in some schools, as has already happened in one school.

2. Service Credit or Requirement. In this model the school not only encourages community service but offers credit for those who do it according to their guidelines. In some cases an elective "community service credit" is awarded for an established number of hours (e.g., 100 hours equals one semester credit). In others, students are required to perform a specific number of hours of volunteer service in order to graduate.

A common procedure is for a student to prepare a proposal outlining what she or he wants to do, for how long, for what purposes, and what product, if any, is to be produced. This proposal is reviewed by a faculty advisor or program coordinator who will also evaluate and "certify" the project at its completion.

The key point as far as the continuum is concerned is that the service is not performed within the context of a regular school course. It is essentially an independent activity, with minimal supervision by school personnel. There may be occasional discussion with an advisor or with other participants, but the learning is essentially in the doing.

Newmann and Rutter (1986) report that about 15% of schools who offer service programs include service as a requirement for graduation. A service requirement is most commonly found in Catholic schools (13.5%) and least often in alternative public schools (1.8%). They estimate that overall fewer than 4% of public high schools require service for graduation. Levison reports that of the 277 independent Schools which reported programs, 40% required students to participate.

There are not direct data on how many schools offer academic credit for service activities alone. Newmann and Rutter (1986) estimated that about 9% of U. S. schools offer credit for service, but this figure includes some which also require the service and some where the service is performed in conjunction with courses such as described in categories 3 and 4 of the continuum.

Duties to the Community (Graduation Requirement)
Atlanta Public Schools

Beginning with the class of 1988, each student in the Atlanta public schools is required to give 75 hours of unpaid volunteer service in order to graduate. Orientation is

provided in the 9th grade, with the service to be performed, during non-school hours, at any time from then through the 12th grade. The District office assists in contacting and approving service agencies, disseminating information to the schools, evaluation, and the like. In the individual schools, the 75 hours of service are confirmed by a school advisor who also evaluates the required student essay (or journal). The latter project is also assessed by a member of the school's English department. One-half unit (7 1/2 hours of credit) is awarded to each student upon completion of the requirements.

Marshall Service Unit (Graduation Requirement)
The Marshall School, Duluth, MN

At the Marshall School (an Independent school), service is not just a graduation requirement. Students are required to perform at least ten hours of volunteer service every year of high school. If a student volunteers for more than twice the minimum, the time may count toward the requirement for the following year but may not be carried over further no matter how many hours are involved. No great restrictions are placed on what counts as service which may extend from helping out a neighbor to enrolling in Volunteer Outreach--a one-semester elective course for 11th and 12th graders. The faculty person who coordinates the Service Unit program also teaches the Outreach class.

Community Service Program (Elective Credit)
North High School, Fargo, ND

At North High School, one-half credit is awarded for each 80 hours of service performed. A student submits a proposal to the program supervisor, who also assists in finding placements. Students volunteer at service sites (in or outside of school) during their open periods, after school, or on weekends. Up to one full credit may be earned through service projects.

3. Laboratory for an Existing Course. In this model, students perform service as a way to gather, test, and apply the content and skills of existing school courses. Students in a contemporary issues class may gain direct insight into a social problem by helping to alleviate it; math or French students may test and expand their skills by teaching them to younger children; home economics students may apply their decorating skills in the home of a low-income couple.

The service may be a one-time project or an on-going commitment (e.g., 2 hour a week for a quarter). It may be done as "extra credit," or in lieu of some other assignment such as a research paper, as a requirement of a course, or as the culminating activity of a unit of study. This kind of integration into the curriculum has enabled many schools to introduce community service into their academic program with little or no alteration of their basic curriculum, schedule, or staff deployment.

There are no statistics that document how common this practice is, but examples are not hard to find. Two quite different approaches are described below.

Social Involvement
Armstrong High School, Robbinsdale, MN

In the early 1970,s, the twelfth grade social studies team made a commitment to linking their subject-matter to the needs of the community and has continued to do so for eighteen years. During the first week each Fall, the school hosts an Involvement Fair where more than 50 community agencies present their needs and volunteer opportunities to seniors. The students receive points toward their social studies grade for volunteering up to 20 hours per quarter--with additional points awarded for keeping a journal of their activities. Typically, about 450 students (65% of Armstrong seniors) choose to participate in the program.

Youth Leadership Project
Strawberry Mansion High School, Philadelphia, PA

Faced with an exceptionally high dropout rate, teachers at Strawberry Mansion High School worked with the Youth Leadership Project in Philadelphia to design a 10th grade curriculum that would be more challenging and more engaging to students. The result is a combined English and social studies course that features the study of issues relevant to the students' lives and culminates in students taking action on these issues. From September through December, students study racial issues, social movements, school and community problems, and work on leadership skills. For the rest of the year they develop and implement projects to attack these issues and apply these skills. They write and perform original dramas, work on improving the school environment, assist in homeless shelters and with other community agencies, and have published "Local Heroes" booklets which feature adults in their neighborhoods who also are working to improve the community. The challenge for the future is to develop an 11th and 12th grade program to continue and build on this base.

4. Community Service Class. This model features the interchange of action and reflection in a course which is an integral part of the school's academic program. The key characteristic is that service is the central activity, undertaken both for its own sake and to provide stimulus and focus for classroom experiences. In the classroom, the emphasis is on providing information, skills, and generalizing principles to help students learn from their experiences and to operate more effectively in their service assignments.

A typical example would be a one-semester social studies class that meets two class periods each day. Four days a week students are in the community and one day in class. The additional class period is gained, at no extra cost, by giving students double course credit and by counting the course as two classes for the teacher. The two period block is

needed to give students enough time to be significantly involved in their service assignments without impinging on the rest of their school schedule.

It is difficult to say just how common such a course is, but it can be estimated from Newmann and Rutter's (1986) data. They found that of the 8.4% of schools that offered community service as an elective, 79% had a formal class or seminar as part of the program. This works out to 6.6% of all schools or just over 1,300 schools offering such a program. They found that academic credit was most frequently offered in the areas of trade, industrial arts, career and business education, and social studies. They also found this approach drew students about equally from the college preparatory, vocational and general tracks.

Community Action Program
John Marshall High School, Rochester, MN

Community service has been the focus of a senior social studies offering at John Marshall for over 15 years. By taking the Community Action Program, students meet their 12th grade requirement through a two-period class which interweaves service and reflection. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, students volunteer in a variety of community agencies and special need programs in schools. One day they remain in school to discuss their experiences, work on helping skills, relate social studies' concepts to their work with people, and the like. The remaining day they usually visit a community agency to learn about its programs first-hand. The instructor reports that he occasionally suggests reducing the class or visitation component, but (and to his surprise) students insist that both are needed and the mix is just right.

English as a Second Language Peer Tutoring
Hopkins High School, Minnetonka, MN

The English as a Second Language (ESL) Peer Tutoring class pairs native-born with immigrant students (mostly from Southeast Asia) for one class period each day. The program is voluntary for all, but every new student from abroad chooses the option and there are always just enough tutors (about 50 each year) to go around. There is usually both a morning and afternoon session offered, and both students who tutor and those who are tutored schedule this like any other class and receive the same (elective) credit. At the beginning of each semester, tutors are given extensive orientation into the cultural background of the students they work with as well as guidance on what and how to teach. This training is supplemented on an informal basis thereafter by the ESL supervising teacher. This guidance is part of her assignment, and the tutors are an essential part of the ESL instructional team. The new students receive help in English and other subjects, learn about American teenage culture, and gain allies in a strange and sometimes hostile environment. Tutors gain broader cultural understanding, the chance to make a difference, and new friends.

5. Service as a School-Wide or K-12 Focus. A more rare approach is for community service to permeate a school's total curriculum -- or even an entire school district, K-12. On the school level, each academic department determines how the knowledge and skills of their discipline can be applied to the betterment of others in the community: child development students assisting in a nursery school, industrial arts students offering home repair services to the elderly, English students reading to and writing letters for nursing home residents; math students providing computer services to non-profit agencies and so on. Service within the school itself may be the focus by using cross age tutoring at every grade level. In essence, the school-wide approach carries the "Lab" concept into all aspects of the school's curriculum. The K-12 model extends the approach vertically as well as horizontally, providing age-appropriate service opportunities, with increasing complexity and challenge, on all levels.

The great strength of this approach is that community service is not just an isolated activity of a few motivated students, but a repeated and integral part of the school experience for all. What this model shares with all others is that students practice the humane application of knowledge, discovering that education is not just something one gains but something to be used to improve the lives of others.

Student Service Learning
Tucson Unified School District

A partnership between the Tucson Schools and the Pima Council on Aging has resulted in a K-12 service program with a particular focus. Schools on all levels are encouraged to provide age-appropriate service to Tucson's growing senior citizen population, and have responded in a variety of ways. At the elementary schools, senior citizens attend a weekly lunch program called "The Pleasure of Your Company." Elementary classes also participate in pen-pal, adopt-a-senior, and Grandparents' Day programs. Middle and high schools focus on outdoor work. Student teams, supervised by an adult volunteer, clean yards and wash windows and through these and other means develop caring relationships with their senior "clients."

Community Service Learning
Springfield (Massachusetts) Public Schools

In 1987, the school board in Springfield adopted the mission "to develop and instill in all students an awareness, understanding, and appreciation of community...and the responsibility each citizen has to help others for the benefit of the community." Even more pointedly, they set a system-wide goal to "establish community service as an integrated part of the curriculum [K-12] so that students become more aware of their communities and understand their role within them."

To help fulfill this mission and goal, a position of District Coordinator for Community Service Learning was established along with a building representative and service learning team in each Springfield school. Their task is to develop themes and projects appropriate to their students' ages and which are integrated into the overall curriculum of the school. On the high school level a community service elective titled "We Make a Difference" has been established, along with making community and service a frequent theme in writing assignments and in other areas of the curriculum. In the junior highs and middle schools, each building has activities tied to subject matters--such as environmental action projects in science. In the elementary schools, the goal is to establish school-wide themes (such as hunger and homelessness) which are worked on in all subject areas and which culminate in service activities.

One note of reality must be added to this account--and this section. Under the pressure of a budget crunch, the District Coordinator position was eliminated at the close of the 1989 school year.

There are, obviously, many ways to organize community service programs, and many excellent models from which to learn. What students gain from these programs is the topic of the following section.

OUTCOMES OF YOUTH SERVICE: RATIONALE AND RESEARCH

Good research studies, like effective educational programs, need a clear sense of direction. Therefore it seems appropriate, as a bridge between discussions of practice and research, to summarize the basic rationales for community service -- which are also the most appropriate targets for assessment of the practice.

Rationale and Hypothesized Outcomes

Youth community service is a term representing a wide array of programs operating under an equally wide array of assumptions about their impact. While advocates of youth service agree at least superficially on a general rationale, there are differences in what they emphasize and these differences carry over to the types of service programs they advocate. At the risk of oversimplification, advocates can be divided into those who emphasize youth reform and those who stress reform of education.

The heart of the youth reformers' case is that there is a crying need to engage youth in meeting the demands of democracy. Statistics are produced showing that youth vote less frequently than any age group; are less likely to volunteer than older citizens (and the rate is dropping steadily); and have values that have shifted dramatically in the last 15 or 20 years in a direction that is dangerous for democracy. Participation data are commonly accompanied by statistics on crime, pregnancy, suicide, drug use and, nearly always, by data from the annual American Council on Education survey of incoming college freshman

(New York Times, 1988). The latter survey indicates that the importance of the goal of "being well off financially" rose from a far-down-the-list 29 percent in 1970 to 76 percent (the number one position) in 1987. In contrast, "developing a meaningful philosophy of life" showed a mirror-image reversal in both percentage and place by moving from a top-ranking 83 percent in 1967 to a 13th-ranked 39 percent in 1987.

From this base, it is argued that service provides a potent antidote to youth's ills and should be added to their experience through requirements--or opportunities--for participation: a national service program, state or local youth service corps, revitalized service ethic in traditional youth organizations, school-based service clubs, and service requirements for high school and/or college graduation.

The other dominant strain is focused more on educational reform. With a longer history but less current fanfare, the emphasis of this group is on the power of service to meet the basic objectives of schools: promoting the personal, social and intellectual development of young people and preparing involved and effective citizens. Persons with educational reform as their chief concern are more likely to emphasize service as a part of the academic curriculum, and to urge its integration into the regular activity of schools.

Since the emphasis in this paper is on school-based community service, we shall discuss the latter rationale in more detail. Community service as a method of education can be viewed as a particular manifestation of a still broader approach labeled experiential education. The approach is rooted in the developmental theories of John Dewey, Jean Piaget and others who stress learning as an interaction with the environment. They argue that development occurs as individuals strive to develop more satisfying and complex ways to understand and act on their world. James Coleman (1977) contrasts this experiential approach to learning with what he termed the "information-assimilation model" used in most classroom instruction. In the latter model, the starting point of instruction is the presentation of information followed by one or more subsequent steps in a sequence as follows:

- Reception of information through symbolic media
- Organizing the information into principles and generalizations;
- Inferring a particular application from the general principle;
- Application in action (and revision of principles used).

The experiential approach essentially turns the above on its head. Information is not introduced symbolically but generated through this sequence of steps:

- Action in a particular situation;
- Seeing the effects of that action;
- Understanding these effects in a particular instance;
- Understanding the general principle under which it falls;
- Application of the principle in new circumstances.

Both approaches have inherent strengths and weaknesses. The strength of the information-assimilation model is in imparting large amounts of information and systematically developing principles and generalizations from that information. Its concomitant danger is that instruction may bog down in the presentation stage and never be applied in practice -- and thus not really be learned.

The strengths and weaknesses reverse themselves in the experiential approach. The weaknesses are the less efficient presentation of information and the danger that students will not draw out principles and generalizations from practice. The strengths are: It mitigates against the distant abstraction of much classroom instruction and instead places information in some context, with the real-life nuances and connections which any fact or principle must have to connote genuine and useful meaning; it motivates the learner by providing connections between academic content and the real problems of life; and it aids in retention of knowledge as learning is made personal and applied in action. A sixteen-year-old member of an ambulance crew put it more succinctly: "In school you learn chemistry and biology and stuff and then forget it as soon as the test is over. Here you've got to remember because somebody's life depends on it."

Those whose primary emphasis is on educational reform go on to cite the connection between psychological factors (e.g., self- esteem) and academic achievement, and join the "youth reformers" in citing the power of service to promote the social development of youth. The point is not that the advocates of community service are split into warring camps so much as to illustrate that arguments for the value of community service are wide and varied, with different elements of the case appealing to people of differing political and educational philosophies. Agreeing that service is a "good" does not ensure agreement of "good for what," or where or when service should be performed, or how programs should be organized, or who should organize them.

With this as background, we offer a summary of the range of learning outcomes that advocates of service associate with the practice. The list is derived from both quantitative studies and from anecdotal accounts of service programs. The items represent the central hypotheses on the outcomes of service and the most appropriate targets for research and evaluation. They are listed as areas of impact rather than in the more precisely-worded form they would require as operative research hypotheses.

Hypothesized Areas of Impact for Youth Service Programs

Well-designed youth community service programs will have a positive effect on students' personal growth and development in such areas as:

- Self-esteem;
- Personal efficacy (sense of worth and competence);
- Ego and moral development;

- Exploration of new roles, identities, and interests;
- Willingness to take risks, accept new challenges;
- Revised and reinforced values and beliefs;
- Taking responsibility for, accepting consequences of own actions.

Well-designed youth community service programs will have a positive effect on students' INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND ACADEMIC LEARNING in such areas as:

- Basic academic skills (expressing ideas, reading, calculating);
- Higher level thinking skills (open-mindedness, problem solving, critical thinking);
- Content and skills directly related to service experiences;
- Skills in learning from experience (to observe, ask questions, apply knowledge);
- Motivation to learn and retention of knowledge;
- Insight, judgment, understanding -- the nuances that can't be explained in a book or lecture but are often the most important things of all to know.

Well-designed youth community service programs will have a positive effect on students' SOCIAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT in such areas as:

- Social responsibility, concern for the welfare of others;
- Political efficacy;
- Civic participation;
- Knowledge and exploration of service-related careers;
- Understanding and appreciation of, and ability to relate to, people from a wider range of backgrounds and life situations.

Assessing such outcomes as these is not an easy task, and the difficulties faced -- and what researchers have thus far discovered -- are considered next.

The Challenge of Investigating the Outcomes of Service

Very little, if anything, has been "proven" by educational research. Advocates of most any practice, be it cooperative learning, team teaching, computer-assisted instruction, or the lecture method can find research evidence in its favor. Detractors, and empirical purists, can find reasons for discounting the results of most any study. It is doubtful that support from research is the prime cause for the adoption of any educational method--even those most commonly practiced. Educational research is a difficult and complex business and particularly so when service is the target of investigation.

Community service programs present unique problems to researchers, problems that go beyond the usual menu of methodological snares. The fundamental difficulty is that service is not a single, easily definable activity like taking notes at a lecture. An act of service may be to visit an elderly person in a nursing home, clear brush from a mountain

trail, conduct a survey of attitudes about recycling, and an infinite variety of other activities--each with different potentials for affect. Even within the confines of a particular program, the participants may perform very different kinds of service. But even if the program features only one type of service, there will be significant variations in the specific activities of individual students. In putting out a community newspaper, some might do research, others might write, some might do the typing or distribute the finished product. Even if all participants did the same things, they would not experience them in the same way. A night in a homeless shelter may be one experience for a streetwise urban youth aspiring to a business career and quite another for a sheltered suburbanite contemplating social work.

Not only is the independent variable, service, difficult to define, but any service activity has a wide range of plausible outcomes. This makes it hard to determine the appropriate dependent variables, or outcomes, to study. Newmann (1975, pp. 9-10) laid out nine possible citizenship-related outcomes that could accrue from the same activity featuring direct civic involvement, and he did so without even touching on issues of political efficacy, later civic participation, factual recall, and self-esteem!

Even if this problem is solved, a quick perusal of the hypothesized outcomes listed above reveals that many of these involve broad and stable personal characteristics (such as self- esteem or level of political efficacy) which are very complex, subject to many interacting influences, not likely to be altered in the short term, and not likely to be accurately measured through conventional paper-and-pencil questionnaires. Furthermore, most service experiences are relatively brief and isolated departures from classroom study. This prevents researchers from assessing the cumulative effect of a variety of such experiences over a sustained period of time (such as when one can examine the impact of one, two, or three years of American history). To complicate things further, most studies of service have been undertaken by advocates of the practice and, in some cases, by the operators of the programs being studied. This adds researcher bias to our list of problems which, of course, are compounded by the myriad difficulties confronting any research in natural settings.

Sound research into the effects of community service is difficult, but not impossible. Many solid and inventive studies have been undertaken and, while none are without flaw, they provide useful information on the impact of the practice. Some of these are reviewed below.

Findings from Quantitative Research

There are two types of evidence on the effects of community service. The first is qualitative, drawing on researchers' observations of community service programs, the self-reports of participants, journals, interviews, testimonials, and the like. Often these sources of data are dismissed as "soft," not serious or objective enough to count as evidence. In the eyes of some educational evaluators and policy analysts, the only evidence

that counts is quantitative--with numbers derived from standardized instruments administered pre and post, with control groups, random assignment of participants, sophisticated statistical analysis, and so on.

Both kinds of evidence are available on the impact of community service, and both can be informative. Evidence from quantitative methodologies is somewhat limited, though a body of research does exist, and will be described below, which shows a general trend of social, personal and academic development being fostered by community service. Evidence from qualitative, anecdotal, studies suggests even more strongly and consistently that community service can be a worthwhile, useful, enjoyable and powerful learning experience. This type of evidence will also be discussed in more detail.

Academic Learning. Many proponents of community service have claimed it is an effective way to improve academic learning. The evidence for this is strongest for peer tutoring and for teaching younger students. Using the technique of meta-analysis, researchers have combined the findings of many tutoring studies and have consistently found increases in reading and math achievement scores, both on the part of the tutor and tutee (Hedin, 1987). The changes in reading and math knowledge tend to be modest, but this is the case with most learning and growth. Changes in curriculum and instruction rarely, if ever, produce dramatic results. Yet, the gains attained through tutoring are consistently positive--most particularly for the tutor or teacher.

It may be that positive academic outcomes are found most frequently for tutoring because it is the form of community service that is most "school-like", and the knowledge and skills examined are most like those the tutors have been using. In the few instances when students in other forms of service have been tested for gains in factual knowledge, the results have been less conclusive. When the measuring instrument is a general test of knowledge there is usually no difference at all between students in service programs and those in conventional classrooms--which may establish that at least nothing is lost by time spent out of school. Consistent gains in factual knowledge have been found, however, when researchers have used tests designed to measure the kinds of information students were likely to encounter in their field experiences (Hamilton, 1987).

Some researchers have focused on the effect of service experiences on the basic processes of thinking--such as problem-solving, being open-minded, and thinking critically. Wilson (1974/1975) found that students who participated in political and social action in the school or wider community became more open-minded. Conrad and Hedin (1982) found that students' problem-solving ability, as measured by reactions to a series of real-life situations, increased more for students in community service (and other experience-based programs) than those in comparison groups. Furthermore, students' ability to analyze problems improved the most when they had encountered problems similar to those presented in the test and where the program deliberately focused on problem solving. Students who had neither discussed their experiences with others, nor had encountered

problems similar to those in the test, showed no more change than students in conventional classrooms.

Some studies have focused on the skills learned through direct service to others. Norman and Richard Sprinthall (1987), reporting on a series of studies of students engaged as teachers, tutors and peer counselors, observed that in addition to other gains many students had developed higher level counseling skills than those achieved by graduate students in counseling. Other studies have reported the attainment of skills ranging from construction skills, to classroom management and the conduct of basic social research.

Social/Psychological Development. Well-run, well-conceptualized community service programs can also influence social development (e.g, sense of social responsibility, and political efficacy) and psychological development (e.g., self-esteem and ego development). Conrad and Hedin (1982) studied 27 school-sponsored programs featuring direct participation in the community, including programs of community service, community study, career internships, and outdoor adventure. They found that students in participatory programs, including service programs, gained in social and personal responsibility. Hamilton (1988) reported similar gains in social responsibility with groups of 4-H members engaged in various forms of service: child care, community improvement efforts, and the like. Newmann and Rutter (1983) found less dramatic and consistent differences between service and classroom programs but concluded that community service appeared to affect students' sense of social responsibility and personal competence more positively than did regular classroom instruction.

Researchers have investigated several other dimensions of social development as well. Conrad and Hedin (1982) found that students in service, and other experiential programs, developed more favorable attitudes toward adults and also toward the types of organizations and people with whom they were involved. Luchs (1981) reported that students involved in community service gained more positive attitudes toward others, a greater sense of efficacy, and higher self esteem than non-participating comparison students. Calabrese and Schumer (1986) reported lower levels of alienation and isolation, and fewer disciplinary problems, among junior high youth involved in service as part of a program for students with behavioral difficulties. Studies that have examined political efficacy and inclination toward subsequent civic participation have had mixed results. About an equal number of studies find increases and no increases on these dimensions.

The effect of community service on self esteem has been the psychological variable most commonly investigated. Increases in self-esteem have been found for students in the role of tutors, service providers for the mentally disabled, and in more general helping roles. Newmann and Rutter (1983) reported that students involved in community service projects increased on a dimension closely related to self esteem: a sense of social competence on tasks such as communicating effectively to groups, starting conversations with strangers, persuading adults to take their views seriously, and the like.

A number of studies have used the developmental theories of Lawrence Kohlberg and Jane Loevinger, et al., to frame their assessment of the impact of service experiences (usually as a peer counselor, interviewer, or teacher) on moral and ego development. The typical, though not universal, outcome is that students gain in both moral and ego development (Cognetta & Sprinthall, 1978). One reviewer of the research on developmental education concluded that moral and ego development can be enhanced by educational programs with the most powerful being those that combine discussion of moral issues with the exercise of empathy and role-taking and action in behalf of moral and social goals (Ralph Mosher, 1977).

The value of combining action and discussion has been noted by other researchers as well. Rutter and Newmann (1989), in examining the potential of service to enhance civic responsibility, concluded that the presence of a reflective seminar was probably the key to achieving that goal. Conrad and Hedin (1982) examined the impact of several program variables (length, intensity, type of community action, etc.) on student outcomes and found that the presence of a reflective seminar was the one program feature that made a clear difference--particularly on intellectual and social dimensions of development.

Effect on those served. Since researchers have been mainly concerned with the impact of service on the volunteer, they have seldom considered what young people accomplish for others as a criterion for assessing the impact of a service program. There are two significant exceptions--tutoring and peer helping programs. In regard to the former, researchers have consistently found tutoring to be an effective mode of instruction. In one comparative study, for example, tutoring was found to be a more effective tool for raising academic outcomes than computer-assisted instruction (Hedin, 1987). In regard to peer helping, a meta-analysis of studies of 143 adolescent drug prevention programs concluded that peer programs, of the five approaches examined, were the most effective on all outcome measures--and stood out most on the criterion of reducing actual drug use (Tobler, 1986).

In summary, quantitative research into the impact of community service suggests that this approach can and often does have a positive impact on the intellectual and social-psychological development of participants. Researchers consistently report a heightened sense of personal and social responsibility, more positive attitudes toward adults and others, more active exploration of careers, enhanced self esteem, growth in moral and ego development, more complex patterns of thought, and greater mastery of skills and content directly related to the experiences of participants. Furthermore, when the impact of service on others has been examined, youth have proven to be effective in raising math and reading scores and in reducing drug use among peers.

Findings from quantitative studies are mixed on whether community service increases political efficacy and later participation in civic affairs. Only rarely does participation result in higher scores on tests of general knowledge, with the clear exception of academic achievement scores for students in the role of teacher or tutor.

Qualitative Research

While there is reasonably consistent evidence for the positive impact of community service from quantitative research, the methodological problems mentioned earlier stand in the way of establishing a clear causal connection. Yet, anyone who has worked with or evaluated community service programs cannot help but be struck by the universally high regard in which the programs are held by those connected with them. Students, teachers, community supervisors, parents, and those being served, consistently testify to the benefits of community service. This gap between what quantitative and qualitative methodologies uncover about community service suggests that a practice so varied and complex demands assessment through equally complex and varied ways.

It may be necessary, as Hamilton (1988) has suggested, to shift the level of analysis from the program as a whole to the individual participants within it. The varied nature of the activities, and idiosyncratic ways they are experienced, is an enduring part of the character, even the strength, of community service. Many tools exist to facilitate this kind of research, especially field observations, interviews, analysis of participants' journals and other writing, reports by agency personnel and recipients of service, and documentation of what students accomplish for others. These and other qualitative methods of data collection and analysis have been used in several studies, but are usually presented as ancillary to, rather than as the chief focus of research. Often they make their appearance as a qualifier of the "real" data in some form such as: "though our pre-post tests revealed no significant change, every one associated with the project was highly pleased with it and convinced it was a powerful and positive experience."

Sometimes the rigid reliance on paper and pencil surveys and tests can obscure the most obvious and meaningful data of all. In an inquiry into the impact of service on social responsibility, for example, the fact that participants are willingly and consistently acting in a socially responsible manner (volunteering in a nursing home or petitioning city hall to crack down on polluters) is at least as relevant to the issue as how they mark a test of attitudes about being socially responsible.

The spontaneous comments of participants in interviews or journals are a rich source of data revealing not only the general effect of a service experience but the particular and peculiar dimensions of impact on each individual. The more the analysis is grounded in theories of how growth and development take place, the more useful these data can be. In the paragraphs that follow, we offer an example of how qualitative analysis can reveal the dimensions of learning and intellectual development that can accrue from service experiences.

A Qualitative Analysis of What is Learned from Service. A consistent finding of research into service and other kinds of experiential programs is the degree to which participants report they have learned a great deal from their experiences. In a nationwide

survey of nearly 4,000 students involved in service and other experiential programs, about 75% reported learning "more" or "much more" in their participation program than in their regular classes (Conrad and Hedin, 1982). Similar findings are regularly reported in other studies. When people feel strongly that they have learned a great deal, they probably have done so, but it is not always possible for them or others to articulate just what they have learned.

To probe this issue more deeply, Hedin and Conrad (1987) analyzed the journals of high school students who volunteered in schools and social agencies four days a week as part of their social studies curriculum. Their responses to the question of how much they had learned revealed that over 95% felt they had learned more or much more than in their regular classes. Their journals revealed even more, and examples from a few will suggest the kinds of things they learned and, at the same time, illustrate how qualitative analysis can be used to uncover the sources and content of what is learned through service..

Many students commented on the power of being in a new role (other than pupil), as in this comment:

> As I walked through the hallway [of the elementary school on my first day of leading elementary children in theatre experiences] I realized what I had gotten myself into....a challenge. But as I step through the door I transform from student to person....The first day went extremely well, but I'm glad I don't have to go through it again. Now I return to school and become student again.

In another entry, a student suggests that a relationship with a child is a more compelling incentive to act responsibly than the demands and sanctions of school authorities.

> As I entered St. D's it was my joy to see Adam wearing a smock covered with paint washing his hands at the sink. "Hi," I said. "Did you go to school yesterday?" he replied shortly. "Yes," I said guiltily [having skipped my service assignment]. "Why didn't you come?" he demanded. "I didn't have a ride to get back from here," I explained thinking as fast as I could. When I started to touch his shoulder he jerked away and said, "Don't." So I left him alone....I felt like a criminal.

Another dimension of impact was on students' sense of connection with a wider range of people, places and problems. In this report, a student recounts how her world was broadened:

> I have come a long way though. I remember my first few days at Oak Terrace. I was scared to touch people, or the doorknobs even. And I used to wash my hands after I left there every single day! Can you believe

> it? Now I go and get big hugs and kisses from everyone. Get this--I even eat there! That's a horror story for some people.

Unfamiliar settings, new experiences, and wider associations can lead to new knowledge and understanding as they did for this girl who volunteered in a soup kitchen:

> I feel bad when they're called bums....I kinda understand why they're there. People end up on the streets because of depression mostly. They have a divorce, or they lose the right to see their kids, and they get depressed and end up on the streets. Or they lose their job or their housing, and they get depressed. One guy I regularly talked to a lot said suddenly one day, "I don't want to talk to you--you're a kid." I was hurt. But I found out his wife had just denied him the right to see his kids. He was lashing out at me as a kid and as a woman.

Some found that these new experiences and understandings changed the way they looked at their own lives. Some wrote of new career plans, others of subtle differences in the ways they saw the world, and some focused on very personal changes:

> I cannot even begin to count the number of days that I trudged into Glen Lake, thinking about all the "huge" problems in my life I was facing: homework, fights with my sister, money for college, the right guy not calling my house, gaining too much weight, missing a party...and the list goes on. I cannot think of a single time where I came out not feeling 100% better about life, and also feeling guilty about only thinking negatively about things that are so trivial in my life.

Some journals revealed insights even more profound than these--something like a new way of knowing, a new process of thinking. Consider the words of a young woman in a nursing home who discovers a new pathway to knowledge and understanding:

> As the [first] morning came to an end I began to deeply ponder the reason for my parents telling me to respect my elders. Honestly, I thought, I doubt if I can respect these people that wear diapers, drool gallons of saliva a day, [who] speak totally incoherently and [are] totally dependent on a youth.
>
> Finally the first week passed. I became very attached to the residents. I think those insecurities you feel when you start working with elderly people disappear when you begin to really <u>love</u> them.

She went on from there to describe the beauty of the residents as she came to really "know" and to relate to them. Her observations about them--especially about what they knew and could do--changed dramatically. But the turning point, the new perspective, was

in the insight that love precedes knowledge--not the other way around. It's precisely the point that the philosopher George Santayana (1925) made about knowing the truth about another:

> But let us agree that the philanthropist is a diviner. The scars and deformities of men do not beguile him: would they be deformities or scars if there were not whole and beautiful humanity beneath which they could disfigure? The lover's eye when most open is most full of dreams, it pierces through the incrustations of fortune, or does not perceive them, and sees only the naked image of the god beneath.

Through comments such as these, the "more" or "much more" that this girl and her classmates had said they learned from their service experience began to take on meaning. The "more" turned out to be not so much a reference to amount as to significance, not so much to new information as to more important and more personal knowledge and understanding. The students were probing the fundamental questions of life: who am I? where am I going? is there any point to it all? They were thinking and writing about the basic issues of adolescence and beyond: about relationship, significance, connection, suffering, meaning, hope, love, and attachment.

It's hard to imagine how any attitude survey or test could capture any of this. Perhaps such instruments could be developed, but probably not until further qualitative work is done to help investigators select the appropriate kinds of learning to be measured, and to do so in ways that capture the unique, the subtle, the unexpected, and the profound.

Such work is being done by some researchers studying service and other experiential programs. Hursh and Borzak (1979) analyzed data from interviews and writing (in a college service internship program) in accordance with stage-development theory. This approach enabled them to discern growth and development in what might otherwise have been an interesting but incomprehensible collection of anecdotes. David Thornton Moore (1981, 1986) uses techniques from ethnographic research to develop case studies and "learning narratives." In a sophisticated, even laborious, manner his work probes the processes of learning that occur in non-school settings. John Puckett's (1986) ethnohistory of the Foxfire program contains rich insights into the dynamics, development, and effects of a long-standing experiential program. Diane Hedin (1981) has developed a data collection technique using directed discussions with small groups which can provide insight into the dynamics and outcomes of community service programs.

In summary, the case for community service as a legitimate educational practice is rich in theory and promising in terms of the outcomes reported from its practice. Many of these claims receive provisional support from quantitative, quasi-experimental studies, and even more consistent affirmation through the reports and testimony of participants and practitioners. The most conclusive assessment of the impact of service, and deepest understanding of how it translates into learning and development, lies ahead in the efforts

of researchers using sensitive and systematic qualitative methodologies either alone or in close association with quantitative procedures.

YOUTH SERVICE AS A SCHOOL PRACTICE: ISSUES AND QUESTIONS

Youth community service is, for the moment, receiving a good deal of attention from policy makers and educators. Whether what is sometimes labeled a "movement" refers only to increased discussion by select elites or also its translation into widespread practice is not as clear. School-based service programs, beyond the extracurricular and special event category, are still only found in a minority of schools and there is no evidence of any substantial increase (or decrease) over the past ten or twenty years. Some new elements, however, could drastically change the picture. One is the degree to which volunteer service by all citizens, youth included, is being promoted by writers and policy makers outside of education. We may be witnessing the dawn of a new climate of acceptance of (perhaps even pressure for) service programs in schools. The second new feature is the involvement of state governments and boards of education in promoting the practice through policy directives and support services. Thirdly, are the lessons learned over the past twenty years and the assistance available from a growing network of organizations devoted to helping educators implement service programs.

On the other hand, we know from experience and research that educational change is always difficult to accomplish. Teachers and administrators practice what they believe in, what they know how to do, what they can fit into their schedules and curricula, and what they are held accountable for--usually in reverse that order of importance. This suggests several important issues for the future of service as a school practice.

1) If service by youth, and the special kinds of learning and development it promotes, are not among the outcomes by which schools are judged, then service as a school practice will fare poorly amidst pressures for more standardized curricula, higher test scores, precisely-worded learner outcomes, and the like. A creative response to these pressures would be for educators to clearly articulate the goals of service programs, and to measure and report outcomes in ways that meet the accountability demands of their district and state.

2) Schools are continually presented with a wide range of "goods" which compete for a place in full and tradition-bound curricula. Some "goods," like service, face the additional burden of fitting poorly into a format of groups of 35 students rotating through seven, tightly-packed, 47 minute periods. Moreover, service activities often result in there being less direct control over the time and physical movement of students--another yardstick by which schools are commonly judged.

3) Service-learning is a distinct approach to education demanding particular skills and techniques and ways of relating to students. For teachers to run programs effectively, there must be training and practice available on both the professional and pre-professional levels. There is not a great deal available now, especially on the latter level.

4) It is reasonable to assume that some of the power of service-learning stems from its being practiced by persons who believe in it so strongly they make it happen in the face of structural obstacles and countervailing pressures. Reluctant and ill-prepared teachers assigned to direct service efforts may not share the same success.

Should educators manage to deal successfully with these issues, they then face a second set concerning how service programs are organized and for whom.

1) The assumption is often made that if something is good for some it must be good for all, and should be practiced by all. This may not be the case with service. Service freely entered into may not even be the same thing, nor have the same effect, as service mandated by a higher authority, which calls up the image of reluctant teenagers trudging resentfully through their service assignment. On the other hand there are numerous examples of schools where requiring service appears to have been quite successful--both in introducing students to service and in meeting important needs of their communities.

2) The way service is integrated into the schedule and curriculum directly influences who participates, and why. Service as a club activity, for example, tends to attract a narrow spectrum of more affluent students and may perpetuate the stereotype of volunteerism as an elite activity of people with leisure and wealth. Those who advocate service for the purpose of improving the lives of the needy and forgotten would seem to have a special responsibility to be inclusive, to counter the gap in material and psychological resources which enables some youth to volunteer more than others. When service is integrated into the curriculum, however, it tends to involve a broader range of students and promote a broader range of educational outcomes as well. Learning from service is neither a guaranteed nor automatic outcome of any service activity or any program model. Research shows, however, that the potential of service to meet important educational goals is maximized when challenging experiences are combined with systematic reflection--such as can be provided when service is part of the curriculum.

3) Should service become a common educational practice, a further issue that will arise is how to preserve the specialness, even the appeal, of service. It is very likely that some of the power of service is derived from its uniqueness and the break from routine that it represents. There is no question that this is part of its appeal for many students. It remains to be seen how they would react if service were a routine feature of school life.

4) A related issue is how to make allowances for growth and increasing challenge and complexity so that eleventh and twelfth graders are not doing the same things they did in eighth grade, or third. A wide and varied array of service options, beyond volunteering

in social agencies, will be required. Partly this will be necessary in order to provide increasing challenge and also because there is a limit to the number of young volunteers who are needed by social agencies--a limit most quickly reached in rural and suburban areas. Still, one of the most exciting possibilities of greatly expanded student service is of youth working to meet important social needs that no one else has been willing or able to do anything about.

5) The latter point raises the further issue of assuring that youth service is primarily employed as an addition to a community's resources and not as a replacement for existing jobs or as justification for reducing public commitment to efforts to promote social welfare.

Along with all these issues is the need to know more. There is a need for research into what is learned through service, how much is learned, and through what practices these learnings are best attained. This research will involve quantitative studies more precisely focused on outcomes appropriate to service, as well as qualitative studies that more systematically probe the dynamics of service experiences.

In conclusion, we have reviewed the current status of the notion that schools should promote the involvement of young people in providing service to others. The idea has a long tradition in American education, and figures prominently in present discussions of the purpose and practice of schools. Educators have been highly inventive in devising ways to incorporate service activities in school programs, and their efforts provide an array of models that others may adopt and adapt to their settings. Research into the practice indicates that well-designed service programs can have a powerful impact on the social, psychological, and intellectual development of students--though much remains to be learned about the impact of service and how programs can best be organized to maximize that impact.

Whether current interest in youth service represents the wave of the future or a passing fancy cannot, of course, be known. Whether service as a school practice merits serious consideration by educational practitioners and policy-makers seems to true be beyond any doubt.

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APPENDIX

Publications and Manuals on Organizing Service Programs

Choosing to participate resource manual. (1988). Strom, M.S. & Stoskopf, A.L.
Facing History and Ourselves
25 Kennard Road
Brookline, MA 02146

Facts and faith: A status report on youth service. (1988, August). Lewis, A.

Youth and America's Future
William T. Grant Foundation
Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship
1001 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 301
Washington, DC 20036-5541

Making a difference in your community: A workbook for student directed service projects. (1989).

Youth Community Service
Constitutional Rights Foundation
601 South Kingsley Drive
Los Angeles, CA 90005
(213) 487-5590

Reaching out: School-based community service programs. (1988)

National Crime Prevention Council
733 15th Street, N.W., Suite 540
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 393-7141

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P.O. Box 516
Chester, VT 05143

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National Society for Internships and Experiential Education
3509 Haworth Drive, Suite 297
Raleigh, NC 27609
(919) 787-3263

Youth Service: A guidebook for developing and operating effective programs. (1986). Conrad, D. & Hedin, D.

Independent Sector
1828 L. Street N.W.
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 223-8100

Resource Organizations

Association for Experiential Education
CU Box 249
Boulder CO 80309
(303) 492-1547

Campus Compact: Project for Public and Community Service
Box G
Brown University
Providence, RI 02912
(401) 863-1119

Campus Outreach Opportunity League
386 McNeal Hall
University of Minnesota
St. Paul, MN 55108
(612) 624-3108

Community Service Network of New England
Phillips Academy
Andover, MA 01810
(508) 475-3400

Council of Chief State School Officers
379 Hall of the States
400 North Capitol Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20001
(202) 393-8161

Maryland Students Service Alliance
200 W. Baltimore St.
Baltimore, MD 21201
(301) 333-2427

National Society for Internships and Experiential Education
3509 Haworth Drive, Suite 297
Raleigh, NC 27609
(919) 787-3263

National Youth Leadership Council
Center for Youth Development and Research
386 McNeal Hall
University of Minnesota
St. Paul, MN 55108
(612) 631-3672

PennSERVE
c/o Pennsylvania Department of Education
333 Market St.
Harrisburg, PA 17126
(717) 787-1971

School Youth Service Network
Constitutional Rights Foundation
601 So. Kingsley Drive
Los Angeles, CA 90005
(213) 487-5590

Thomas Jefferson Forum, Inc.
131 State Street, Suite 305
Boston, MA 02109
(617) 523-6699

Youth Service America
1319 F. Street, N.W., Suite 900
Washington, DC 20004
(202) 783-8855